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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 7 October 1992, at 10 a.m.

President:	Mr. GANEV	(Bulgaria)
later:	Mr. KALPAGE (Vice-President)	(Sri Lanka)
later:	Mr. GANEV (President)	(Bulgaria)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Tshering (Bhutan)
Mr. Pashovski (Bulgaria)
Mr. Ssemogerere (Uganda)

- Emergency assistance to Pakistan: draft resolution [146]

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The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. TSHERING (Bhutan): I have the honour to convey to you and to all the representatives here the warm greetings of His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, King of Bhutan, and his good wishes for the success of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

I should first like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as president of the forty-seventh session of the Assembly. Your unanimous election is testimony to the high regard the international community has for your country and the Assembly's confidence that your leadership will provide the necessary direction on many important issues that we shall take up during this session.

I should like to take this opportunity to place on record our deep appreciation to Mr. Samir S. Shihabi, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the proceedings of our last session.

I wish to extend our warm welcome to the Governments and peoples of all the new Members of the United Nations. The large number of new Members is testimony not only to the historic changes that are taking place in the world, but also to the universality and importance of the United Nations. We welcome them and look forward to the opportunity to work together.

During the last three years the world has witnessed the disappearance of the ideological conflict that had divided it and pervaded every aspect of social and economic life for much of this century. While these sweeping changes have brought new opportunities for peace, stability and progress,

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hopes have been dampened on the one hand by the unleashing of old hostilities and new conflicts, and on the other by the further impoverishment of millions of people for whom the changes in the international scene have little meaning. The social and economic situation remains dismal not only in many developing countries but also in many developed countries which are suffering from a prolonged recession. Though the opportunity for peace and progress has never been better, the challenges of inequity and poverty, which are the main reasons for instability and conflict, continue to be daunting as ever.

In many ways the United Nations has been the greatest beneficiary of the changes in international affairs. After many years of blatant disregard and even disrespect by many and a lack of confidence in its abilities by others, the international community is now increasingly turning to the United Nations. There is greater willingness on the part of everybody to work through the Organization.

In this context we should like to record our appreciation to our previous Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for having created this opportunity and increased respect for the United Nations. We should also like to express our admiration and appreciation to our present Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for taking immediate steps to make the Organization relevant and more responsive to the needs of the world, particularly in the area of conflict. We share his views on the need for immediate peace-keeping and peace-making and for greater emphasis on conflict resolution. Above all, we share his view on the need to give equal importance and attention to conflict and suffering wherever they may be in the world.

The situation in the Middle East continues to be a major concern for global peace. While the unnecessary and senseless aggression against the

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peaceful people of Kuwait has been reversed, the issue of prisoners and disarmament remains. This new confrontation has added another dimension to the region, where peace and stability have already been denied for a long time.

We fully appreciate the efforts of the sponsors of the dialogue that is taking place on the Middle East. We sincerely hope that the talks will defuse the conflict and pave the way for peace in the region. However, this process will not be successful unless the question of Palestine and occupied Arab lands is addressed and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians to self-determination in their homeland are guaranteed. Equally, the territorial integrity of Lebanon and the security and safety of all States in the region, including Israel, must be assured. Only then will there be meaningful peace in the region.

In South Africa, while there has been progress towards change, the process has been continuously marred by a heavy toll in human lives. The violence must stop and the talks should continue. The inevitable course of change should not be restrained any further.

While the cold war has ended, one of its last remnants still stands in the division of the Korean peninsula. We welcome the recent exchanges between the two countries and believe they will eventually lead to unification. We fully support the pragmatic steps set forth by President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea in his address to this session and share his vision of the Korean peninsula presenting itself as one nation before this body in the near future.

The supply of arms over the years has made it possible for conflicts in Somalia and other regions of the world to continue despite the major changes

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in the international scene. The results have been tragic, and we cannot but emphasize the immediate need for humanitarian assistance and for resolution of the problems.

The disappearance of the bipolar world has provided the best opportunity for ending the arms race and bringing about complete disarmament. The chance to direct all efforts and resources from the production of weapons of mass destruction towards the service of humanity must not be allowed to slip by. While there has been reduction of major weapons, the production and supply of smaller arms have continued to thrive in many parts of the world. Developing countries can ill afford to spend their resources on such unproductive and destructive enterprises.

The tragedies of war and conflict are not the only factors contributing to human suffering. While they may be dramatic and require immediate attention, more suffering is taking place on a day-to-day basis, involving millions of people in the world. Just as it is important to end conflict, it is essential that the problems of poverty be addressed.

The decade of the 1980s produced few, if any, positive results in the field of socio-economic development; consequently, the living conditions of only a few are better than when the decade started. The International Development Strategy for the 1990s, adopted by the General Assembly at its eighteenth special session; the Cartagena Commitments agreed to at the Eighth Conference of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD VIII); the Rio Declaration of the Earth Summit; and the Jakarta Message of the Tenth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement all call for renewed efforts in international development in the decade ahead.

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On the otherwise discouraging sceme there have been two important events: the World Summit for Children, in September 1990, and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro in June this year. The children's Summit clearly drew our attention to the need to redouble our efforts to give our children the necessary care, attention and education if we are to ensure a better future for humanity.

The Earth Summit clearly established the common stake we all have in the well being of the planet. It recognized that, while the responsibility for preserving the delicate ecological balance falls on all nations, at the same time those responsible for its degradation and abuse must be held accountable. Our planet can no longer sustain a high level of exploitation, and there must be a willingness on the part of those placing a high demand on natural resources to reduce consumption. At the same time more resources are necessary to improve the conditions and meet the basic needs of billions of people in developing countries, particularly the more than 1.1 billion people who live in absolute poverty. As further misuse of the earth's finite resources would be disastrous, the only alternative is a greater willingness to share.

The high pace of population growth and the resulting increase in demand on resources is a serious threat to the environment and to the future. Developing countries, where 4.3 billion of today's population of 5.5 billion live, and where nearly all the next billions will be added in the decades ahead, must take all measures to ensure that population and development are balanced in a sustainable manner.

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The next three to four decades will be the most challanging humanity has ever faced, as they will determine the long-term survival of our planet. Just as we have a common stake in the environment and social well being, our futures are also tied in terms of overall global economic health. The slow recovery in the North from a long protracted recession has affected all countries. Similarly, the economic strength of developing countries clearly affects economic opportunities for the North.

The long established target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product for official development assistance has not been reached by most donor countries and is not likely to be during this century. Official development assistance, whether through bilateral or through multilateral channels, has been set back not only in terms of slow growth but also in terms of slow disbursement resulting from increasing modalities and conditionalities.

The question of debt still awaits comprehensive solution after more than a decade of discussion. Both the need for debt relief and the requirement of additional credit must be dealt with in a fair and comprehensive manner. The serious imbalances in international trade in terms of prices for commodities as well as volume of trade must be made more stable. Trade is one of the few avenues available to developing countries for progress, and must not be restricted. It is also necessary that access to knowledge and technology be made easier.

Our discussions on development and political change must take into account the human and social dimensions. There is increasing social tension and disregard for human dignity arising out of poverty, high population growth and resulting unemployment, migration and competition for scarce resources. The wholesome well being of individuals and their rights can be assured if

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there are stable social, economic, political and natural environments. We look forward to the Second World Conference on Human Rights, in 1993, and the proposed world summit for social development to address these important issues in an integrated manner.

In my own country, Bhutan, development activities started only in the 1960s. Since then, major changes have taken place: an effective fiscal and financial management system, a basic network of social services, roads connecting all population centres, and a growing export sector comprised of energy, minerals and agricultural products have been established. The development of human resources and the preservation of our rich environment have been given special attention. Despite the considerable progress, our economic infrastructure remains inadequate, and the country's communications and transport systems require expansion. In addition to the problems all least developed countries face, Bhutan is further handicapped by being landlocked.

Bhutan has always taken full responsibility for its own development, and we will continue to do so, but the progress we have made thus far would not have been possible without generous support, particularly that of India, Japan, Switzerland, Denmark, Kuwait, Austria, Norway, the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom and Australia and various agencies and bodies of the United Nations, in particular the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the United Nations Capital Development Fund, the World Health Organization, the World Food Programme, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Volunteers, the United Nations Population Fund, the United Nations Department of Technical Cooperation for Development and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

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Organization. I take this opportunity to express the sincere gratitude and appreciation of the people and Government of the Kingdom of Bhutan to our development partners.

One of the important issues before the Assembly is the establishment of the Commission on Sustainable Development. We fully welcome such a commission, but we must emphasize that its mandate and relationship to existing organizations must be very clear, and its task must contribute tangibly and substantively to socio-economic development. Let it not be one of the multitude of international organizations struggling to bring about development.

The strengthening, revitalization and reorganization of the United Nations must extend to all its organs and organizations. In this context we welcome the concrete steps that our Secretary-General has taken in streamlining the Secretariat. The United Nations is finally being geared to undertake its peace-keeping, peace-making and humanitarian relief work effectively. We urge that a similar effort be made to ensure that the multitude of organs and agencies involved in development be streamlined and revitalized with the same vigour.

We have listened carefully to the various views on reforming and democratizing the United Nations. This is an extremely important matter that must take into account the significant historical changes and the current membership of the international body. There is need for a new enlightened balance among the principal organs of the United Nations. The General Assembly must be provided with more responsibility, and the International Court of Justice with more authority.

Finally, the United Nations is no longer the hostage of ideological conflict and now has new found respect and confidence. While this opportunity

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must not be missed, the path ahead is a long one, and the United Nations must move quickly to make itself relevant and capable of meeting the responsibilities it has long not been permitted to carry out. But above all the United Nations must be fair in fulfilling the aspirations and meeting the hopes and needs of all its Members, big and small.

Mr. PASHOVSKI (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to express our deep thanks to all delegations of Member States for the uananimous decision to confer the presidency of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly upon us. That can be conceived as an application of the rules of procedure, which provide that the presidency of the forty-seventh session will be given to a representative of Eastern Europe. However, I should also like to see it as support knowingly given for all that our people have done to ensure that Bulgaria would remain an example in the difficult transition from dictatorship towards normalcy.

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I should also like to express my delegation's gratitude to Ambassador Samir Shihabi for his valuable contributions to achievements of the forty-sixth session.

On behalf of my country I am pleased to welcome the new States Members of the United Nations. We hope that other peace-loving States prepared to implement the principles of the Organization will make their contributions.

The Organization's work has now been going on without interruption, albeit with ups and downs, for 47 years. Today, we are happy to be able to say that it is entering a new stage. The aggressive communist system that had set itself the goal of spreading its colour over the entire planet no longer exists. The peoples under its domination paid dearly for that experiment. State, economic and social structures are in ruins, and the environment been degraded. When we add the new investments needed to divert to satisfying the real needs of society the vast military machinery and weapons stockpiles that were accumulated we cannot help but exclaim to ourselves: What a waste of resources!

The common denominator of communism's deeds is the wasting of millions of human lives. People have been killed, tortured, mutilated and removed from active life. Let us pay tribute to them, for through their suffering history has once again demonstrated that although violence may well create empires, it cannot preserve them.

In assessing today the United Nations place in human civilization we recall that our inheritance from the Roman Empire was not the frontiers established by its legions but Roman law, Roman architecture and Roman philosophy - all products of the thinking of the people of that era. The same holds true for the Eastern or colonial empires. Reason alone leaves lasting

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fruits. The failure of the badly brought up and poorly educated who have tried to govern the world has provided further proof of this.

It is unnecessary to come up with lengthy treatises to understand that throughout the succession of different forms of social organization the institutions that last are those that ensure the best opportunities for thought to emerge, spread, endure and evolve. Thought knows no local or international boundaries. It creates links across space and time. It truly unites nations. The best way to give a new impetus to the United Nations is to work to transform it into an Organization of united minds.

Only the individual can create a thought. Even with the traditional predominance of the State in society, we must recognize that it is the human being who bears the responsibility for maintaining parliamentary democracy and the effective production of goods. The protection of the human rights of each human being must be the fundamental condition for accepting any State into the United Nations family. Today, as we assess the 47 years that have gone by and seek new directions, we see that compromise in this area is very costly - and the price is not paid only by those in the Gulag Archipelago; it is paid by everyone.

We know that totalitarian régimes provoke domestic and international crises and that their authoritarian decisions threaten nature and sometimes even mankind's survival.

I should like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who submitted his report, "An Agenda for Peace," at a time when a new atmosphere prevails within the United Nations. The Bulgarian delegation warmly welcomes his message, which is designed to guide the Organization towards efficiency and concrete results. It goes

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without saying that the fundamental condition for the reform proposed by the Secretary-General is the bridging of the gap between the declarations of States and their true policies.

The Bulgarian delegation supports the principal ideas in "An Agenda for Peace" and welcomes the fact that a constructive discussion on that basis has been initiated at the present session. We consider it would be useful to create a special working group to accelerate the evaluation of comments and proposals submitted by Member States.

For the Bulgarian delegation the link between international peace, development and respect for human rights is basic. That link exists in the Charter, and it was emphasized at the Security Council Summit Meeting on 31 January 1992. We should have it constantly in our minds when discussing ideas of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peacemaking.

Preventive diplomacy is a necessity, and the Secretary-General must be supported in his efforts to develop that concept and give it practical dimensions. In this connection there is a whole range of activities that might be considered, such as: information-gathering on problems that may provoke conflicts; the establishment of contacts with forces that may become involved in conflict; the dispatch of fact-finding or other missions, both long-term and short-term; the sending of special representatives; the deployment of civilian or military observers; and, lastly, the deployment of military troops should the need arise.

United Nations efforts in the realm of preventive diplomacy, crisis-management and post-conflict peace-building must also include a greater and more effective cooperation with regional organizations. We support the Secretary-General's idea of making better use of the potential of regional

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organizations. In our view this entails creating a system to coordinate the efforts of agencies working at both the global and regional levels. As of now, there could be such coordination with regard to the sending of fact-finding missions or special rapporteurs, or to similar measures. We believe that interesting ideas may emerge from a discussion of the opportunities available to the United Nations to delegate certain functions to regional organizations as provided in Chapter VIII of the Charter. At the same time, we must not forget that the supreme responsibility for the maintenance of peace has been entrusted to the United Nations.

We consider very useful the experience already acquired through the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). As an example, let us take the establishment of the post of High Commissioner on National Minorities, whose tasks could well be considered to come within the field of preventive diplomacy, or all the confidence-building measures drafted in the course of the Helsinki process, including the recently signed "Open Skies" Treaty. Here I might mention a measure proposed by the Bulgarian delegation at the Vienna negotiations, and already successfully tried, which is to invite accredited military attachés to visit zones of tension in the country where they are posted. With necessary adjustments, when feasible, many of these measures could acquire universal status.

We feel that the reverse process could also be employed. The notion of creating a universal register of conventional arms could also be implemented at the regional level to prevent quantities of conventional weapons capable of destabilizing a region from being stockpiled without any preventive control.

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Regional registers would not only ensure increased transparency, but would also assist in the creation and functioning of a world register. Bulgaria reaffirms its commitment to the implementation of resolution 46/36 L, "Transparency in armaments."

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The reform of the United Nations cannot take place without strengthening confidence among States. Continuation of the disarmament process is absolutely necessary if the new climate in the world is to be maintained. We pay a tribute to Presidents George Bush and Boris Yeltsin for having taken courageous steps to reduce offensive nuclear weapons and to diminish the risk of a nuclear holocaust. We hope that they will continue their efforts and carry this process to its completion.

Encouraged by the success achieved in nuclear disarmament and knowing that regional conflicts are still raging, we feel that it is time to take a decisive step to resolve the problem of the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. As a State party to the non-proliferation Treaty, Bulgaria knows its value and supports the efforts to make it universal. We are in favour of having it continue in force indefinitely after 1995.

We participated in the drafting of the Convention on chemical weapons which we expect to see adopted at this session. From this lofty rostrum I should like to confirm Bulgaria's will to be among the first countries to sign the Convention and to work for its entry into force as quickly as possible.

In putting forth efforts to prevent world war, we must not forget that regional wars are raging. Whether we speak about Iraq, Somalia, on Bosnia and Herzegovina, the malady is universal, even if solutions can only be individual.

Since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, Bulgaria has adopted a position aimed at preventing the conflict from spreading and at cooperating with the international community in efforts to find a political solution to the conflict. We participated in the London Conference, which stimulated international efforts by launching a process of negotiations under the

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auspices of the United Nations and the European Community. Bulgaria firmly supports the principles drafted by the Conference because we feel that they are the basis for a lasting and comprehensive solution to the conflict.

Bulgaria has recognized all of the Republics which, in accordance with constitutional procedures, have clearly expressed their desire to become sovereign States. That makes it possible to bring all the parties of the former Federation together round a negotiating table - but if one or two of them were to be absent, it would be impossible to do so. We have therefore recognized the existing international borders, showing clearly that we are not getting ready to take advantage of our neighbour's difficulties for nationalist purposes.

At this time it is extremely important to contain the conflict and to prevent its spread. The Bulgarian Government has decided to continue to work together with the international community in carrying out the decisions of the London Conference and of the Security Council.

An additional but effective way is to deploy international observer missions. Since the end of last year, the Bulgarian Government has declared several times that it was ready to accept such a mission on its territory. We support the decision taken by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to send missions to the neighbouring countries of Serbia and Montenegro and we pay a tribute to the mission of the European Community which is in Bulgaria.

I should like to recall that we invited another special mission of the European Community and of the CSCE to lend assistance to our authorities in

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the implementation of Security Council resolutions imposing economic sanctions and the embargo on imports of weapons into the former Yugoslavia.

And while we are speaking of sanctions, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that they also affect the countries which apply them. Whether we talk about the case of Iraq, Libya or the former Yugoslavia, a large number of Bulgarian enterprises have been seriously affected and our entire economy has suffered serious losses. If we wish to punish only the guilty party, it would be only fair to consider setting up a compensation programme for the non-guilty party.

Bulgaria will continue its efforts to organize a conference to reaffirm the applicability in the Balkans of the principles of the CSCE. The Bulgarian initiative for a Balkan forum is a concrete example of the general principles of the Helsinki Final Act, as applied to the actual conditions in the Balkans. In this context the setting up and carrying out of a special programme for the economic recovery of the Balkan States, a kind of "Marshall Plan", is of prime importance.

Bulgaria is working to establish relations with neighbouring States on a stable legal basis. We have concluded treaties of friendship, cooperation and good-neighbourliness with Greece, Turkey and Romania, and we are now in the process of signing such a treaty with Albania, Slovenia and Croatia. We wish to live in peace and a state of good-neighbourliness with all the peoples in our region, including the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples with whom we have long historic ties. We hope that, as soon as possible, they will once again find their place in this Hall. That would be the best sign that the problems have already been resolved.

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The death of thousands of people and the suffering of millions of others, especially women, children and the elderly, the huge flows of refugees, and the barbaric practice of ethnic cleansing must not be forgotten. These flagrant violations of humanitarian international law have eloquently shown the overriding need to create an international penal court which would have the competence to judge individuals who commit crimes against peace and humanity. Perhaps it would be appropriate to analyse the possibilities of using for these purposes one of the permanent courts already in existence - the International Court of Justice or the European Court of Human Rights. In any case, this requires discussion and Bulgaria favours continuing the work of the International Law Commission on drawing up the draft statute for such a court.

We think that after the cold war it is imperative to strengthen the role of international law in international relations. This is necessary, in our view, because the bipolar structure of international relations has disappeared and therefore it is necessary to replace it with clear, precise, legal rules which are also universally recognized. On that basis, we should, in our opinion, promote above all, the strict implementation of the provisions of the Charter and strengthen the role of the United Nations in international affairs.

Bulgaria energetically supports all actions and measures which have been laid down in the biennial programme for the United Nations Decade of International Law. We are convinced that the most important part of the programme is the part dealing with ways and means to bring about the peaceful settlement of international disputes. In this context, I should like to inform representatives that on 23 June 1992 the Bulgarian Government deposited

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with the Secretary-General a Declaration of Acceptance of the binding jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. Furthermore, on that same day we withdrew our reservations on the jurisdictional provisions of a number of international conventions, such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimation, the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, and others. I should like to extend the Bulgarian delegation's support for the recommendation of the Secretary-General contained in paragraph 38 of his report "An Agenda for Peace", namely that the General Assembly could, pursuant to Article 96, paragraph 2, of the Charter, authorize the Secretary-General to take advantage of the advisory competence of the International Court of Justice. Such a possibility would considerably strengthen the effectiveness of the work of the Secretary- General.

I began my statement with some thoughts about the role of man as the only being capable of using reason and of original thought. Honour and dignity are inherent in each human being, and history shows us that all conflicts are more or less linked to violations of human rights. Our Organization has created very good standards in this field and emphasis must now be placed on improving the machinery for monitoring and implementing existing standards.

(Mr. Pashovski, Bulgaria)

The crises that have followed the disintegration of multinational federations have demonstrated the importance of the problems of ethnic and religious minorities within the overall framework of human rights protection. In this context, my country is deeply concerned over the fate of the Bulgarian minority in Serbia. Although it is not directly affected by the war, this population has a justified feeling of insecurity with regard to its future and identity, and should not be forgotten by the international community.

Democratic Bulgaria has succeeded in finding an original and effective approach to solving these problems. The Bulgarian Turks have their representatives in the national parliament, and bear their share of the responsibility for the future of our country. Ethnic tolerance is a characteristic trait of the Bulgarian people; one of the most telling example is the way the Jews in Bulgaria were rescued during the Second World War.

The words "war" and "peace" have been intermingled in my speech, as they are, moreover, in real life. But it is clear that peace will win out in the end, because it is in peace that man shows himself to be reasonable and creative. Those who preach peace still remain among us; those who cry violence are not. That is why, in Bulgaria, we have said a last farewell to communism and sided with the nations that are united in their way of thinking.

Mr. SSEMOGERERE (Uganda): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. I am confident that, given your skills and experience, you will successfully guide our deliberations. I wish also to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Samir Shihabi of the

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Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, for the excellent manner in which he steered the work of the forty-sixth session.

It is with a sense of pride and satisfaction that I take this opportunity, firstly, to congratulate Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, a distinguished son of Africa, on his deserved election to the important post of Secretary-General of our Organization; and, secondly, to express sincere appreciation to him for the commendable leadership he has showed in carrying out his duties. Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali's long and valuable service to Africa, especially within the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the central role he played in peacemaking under the Camp David accord, and the considerable familiarity he has with the burning issues of the developing world give him impeccable credentials for this Organization's highest and most challenging post. We wish him every success; he enjoys Uganda's full confidence; and he can count on our constant cooperation and support.*

Uganda welcomes the 13 new Members of the United Nations, with which we look forward to forging close and mutually beneficial relations. An important principle of this Organization is self-determination by the people of the Member States. The admission of new Members is in keeping with that principle.

When we gathered here at the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly, it was against a backdrop of international political developments which had profoundly altered the global landscape. The transformation of international relations has, over the last year, increased in pace and ushered in a new pattern of relations. In place of the cold war between East and West, we now

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* Mr. Kalpagé (Sri Lanka), Vice-President took the Chair.

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see a more cooperative relationship. Mutual suspicion, conflict and the attendant arms race between the major Powers have been replaced by dialogue and joint endeavours. Dictatorships are giving way to democracies, and conflicts are being resolved through dialogue.

As a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Uganda has always urged the major Powers to put an end to their rivalry and, instead, pool their efforts to promote international peace and security and also the economic and social development of all countries, as envisaged by the Charter. We therefore welcome the emerging peaceful relations among the major Powers, and we accordingly have a good basis for hoping that investment in economic and social development worldwide will now receive a higher priority. In this connection, special note must be taken of the important address to this session of the Assembly by President George Bush of the United States when he put forward new ideas about international economic cooperation. These ideas merit serious consideration.

It will be recalled that the cold-war divisions hampered the efforts of the Organization in fulfilling its mandate. But now the correspondence of objectives among the permanent members of the Security Council, as contemplated by the founding fathers, has facilitated the United Nations central role in finding solutions to various regional crises. From Yugoslavia and Cambodia to Somalia, to name but a few, it has now become possible for the United Nations to handle the underlying causes of crises without its actions being hamstrung by the ideological differences between its Members.

As the confidence being reposed in the United Nations has increased, so have the responsibilities the Organization is being called upon to undertake.

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

Yet its resources remain precarious. There is an urgent need for the Organization to be strengthened, in order to be able to be appropriately restructured, and to be provided with adequate means meet the challenges before it.

It is critical that the United Nations organs be made more representative so that they can cater more meaningfully to the interests and aspirations of all its Members. The objective should be to make the decision-making process in the United Nations, including the Security Council, more democratic and transparent. It is with this in mind that Uganda will positively examine the various proposals for reform of the United Nations. We are thus prepared to examine proposals for reform and expansion of the Security Council to reflect contemporary realities that will lead to a more equitable and balanced representation without, however, sacrificing capacity and efficiency.

The present structure of the Security Council reflects the realities of 1945 and the resultant cold war. Countries were designated permanent members because of their capacity, at the time, to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security and to prevent war. For the record, it ought to be stated, with appreciation, that the Organization's structures have discharged their principal obligations well, and have, in particular, safeguarded the international community against a world war and against a nuclear catastrophe.

It must, however, be acknowledged that we are now moving into an age where new issues such as development, environmental protection and technological advancement are critical in international relations and affect

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the security of the world. We therefore believe it is necessary to review the criteria for permanent membership in order to take into account the capacity of countries to contribute in this regard.

(Mr. Ssemogerere, Uganda)

If only for the sake of accountability, it is imperative that Member States, on which our Organization will increasingly depend as the main source of contributions for the implementation of its new agenda for the next century, should also have a say in the decision-making structures of the United Nations.

Secondly, in any restructuring of the Council, it is also important that consideration be given to having for each major region a permanent member, which would be designated through consultation with the relevant regional groups or organizations. An important criterion to take into account is that a country, large or small, seeking membership on the Security Council must fully embrace, and be seen to act in accordance with, the underlying values of the United Nations mandate for peace, respect for human rights, democratization and other accepted international norms. In our view that would enhance both confidence in the Council on the part of the Members of the Organization and the acceptability of the Council's decisions.

While the rapprochement between the super-Powers, as well as the prevailing international climate, has been instrumental in the resolution of long-standing conflicts, we should not be lulled into complacency. There are still many formidable obstacles to overcome in our quest for a more peaceful, secure, just and equitable new world order. Along with increased integration among States and increased democratic governance, we see centrifugal forces tearing States and societies apart, be it in Europe or in developing countries. Many of those conflicts are driven by ethnic, religious, racial or other sectarian differences and have resulted in the loss of many lives and the suffering of very large numbers of innocent people on account of displacement, the destruction of social and economic infrastructure, the

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breakdown of law and order, and the lack of food, medical facilities and shelter. Quite appropriately, these conflicts ought to be the focus of our attention in our deliberations. In addressing ourselves to such conflicts, it is legitimate for the international community to press for their peaceful and prompt resolution and to resort to such mechanisms as are deemed practical in coming to the immediate rescue, with humanitarian assistance, of those who are suffering. National sovereignty should not be invoked for the prevention of delivering needed humanitarian assistance to the innocent.

In South Africa we were encouraged by the positive steps taken by Mr. De Klerk towards the dismantling of the apartheid apparatus. The repeal of the legislative pillars of apartheid - the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Act - followed by the convening of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), gave us hope that at long last we were on the verge of putting in motion an irreversible process towards the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. It was therefore a matter of deep regret that the process was subsequently undermined and endangered by the violence which claimed thousands of lives among the black population. We vividly recall the carnage at Boipatong early this year and more recently in the Ciskei bantustan. The failure of the South African Government to prevent and contain violence clearly raised doubts about the Pretoria Government's commitment to the process of fully dismantling apartheid and ushering into the country a truly democratic order.

We welcome the recent talks between Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. De Klerk aimed at breaking the impasse. Those talks should give impetus to the process. The De Klerk Government needs to take drastic steps to control violence and to engender confidence in the negotiation process. It should

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also release all remaining political prisoners without delay. We commend the decision of the United Nations to station observers in South Africa at this time to monitor the situation and to assist in the process towards democratic change. It remains our conviction that many more observers are needed in order to ensure an effective international presence.

This Organization has been at the forefront of the struggle against apartheid and it is imperative for it to stay the course until the objective is achieved. Uganda's position remains that until the apartheid constitution is scrapped and replaced with one which guarantees human rights and political freedoms to all South Africans on equal terms, we shall not have achieved our goal. While agreeable to the phasing out of sanctions in response to the progress registered, we believe the international community should maintain the necessary pressure to keep the South African Government negotiating in good faith. It is critical to agree on a constitution that enjoys the widest consensus. To that end, it becomes crucial for all parties in South Africa to take part in the negotiations and for South African leaders and the international community to spare no effort in encouraging all necessary consultations to ensure that no significant group feels left out.

The events in South Africa have a great impact on developments elsewhere in southern Africa. Apartheid has always been a source of destabilization for the region, especially for the front-line States, with Angola and Mozambique being the most affected. Over the years, those countries have been the object of a destabilization campaign that encouraged fratricidal internal conflicts. We are glad to note that in both countries progress has been made towards reconciliation and the comprehensive resolution of their internal conflicts.

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Angola has just held an election in which all the parties have participated. The United Nations, through the United Nations Angola Verification Mission, (UNAVEM) II, has greatly contributed to the creation of an atmosphere conducive to reconciliation. In Mozambique, the Government and RENAMO have reached an accord, which is spelt out in the Joint Declaration signed in Rome. We welcome that accord, and it is our hope that a cease-fire agreement will soon be signed so as to facilitate elections and pave the way for an enduring peace.

Mozambique, Angola and other front-line States have borne the brunt of the struggle against apartheid. Their economic and social infrastructures have, in the process, been damaged. Their economies will therefore take a long time to recover. The long drought they are currently experiencing has compounded these problems. I wish to call on the international community to render them the requisite assistance for their economic recovery and development.

In Somalia we have a disaster of enormous proportions which, on the one hand, is man-made and, on the other, is compounded by drought. Both the OAU and African leaders in the regional and subregional contexts have made strenuous efforts to resolve the underlying political differences, but without success. Last Saturday President Museveni of my country, with a view to promoting dialogue between the parties, had discussions with, among others, Somali interim President Ali Mahdi and General Farah Aideed of the United Somali Congress, in which he appealed to both of them to resolve their differences. Already the conflict has brought misery and massive loss of life to the Somali people. A major problem now is that the continued fighting is

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making it extremely difficult to distribute food. We appeal to the various groups in Somalia to put an end to the conflict. We commend the efforts of the United Nations and its agencies, such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), at providing humanitarian assistance, and we call on the international community to increase support for this initiative. We appeal to the various groups involved in the fighting in Somalia to cooperate with the United Nations and work for national reconciliation. We support the call by the current OAU Chairman, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, for the convening of an international conference on Somalia after due preparation.

The Secretary-General, in his annual report and in "An Agenda for Peace", underscores the role of regional and subregional efforts in defusing tension and in working out long-term solutions. We agree with the Secretary-General's observations.

In East Africa the efforts of our Heads of State have gone a long way towards finding long-term solutions to regional problems, in particular that of refugees.

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The joint commissions we have with our neighbours have been most helpful as confidence-building measures. The United Nations should be supportive of our efforts.

As regards Liberia, Uganda will continue to support the initiative of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for a peaceful settlement. The groups in Liberia should cooperate with the EOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and abide by the terms of the accord they reached at Yamoussoukro, which were recently reaffirmed by the Dakar summit of ECOWAS, especially with regard to demobilization and peaceful transition to democratic governance. There is also need for active involvement of the United Nations to assist the subregion in preventing the situation from getting worse.

The conflict in southern Sudan has been a source of anguish for us. The people in this area have for long experienced the agony of war with the attendant loss of lives and the problems of refugees and population displacement. The path towards a long-term solution lies in dialogue and reconciliation among the parties in the Sudan. Time is of the essence in this situation. Uganda appreciates and encourages the efforts of President Babangida and of the OAU towards this end. I wish to register our gratitude to the international community for coming to the rescue of the civilian population with humanitarian aid. It is our hope that both the Government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) will facilitate the international humanitarian relief effort, which at the moment is, regrettably, suspended, with only little help reaching the affected population.

Uganda commends the fruitful regional and international initiatives for the resolution of the social and armed conflict in Rwanda. Uganda acknowledges and supports the ongoing dialogue, under Tanzanian mediation,

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between the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front, in accordance with agreements and recommendations reached in regional conferences and under OAU auspices. Uganda appreciates the constructive and helpful role played by the international observers in these negotiations.

As to Western Sahara, Security Council resolution 690 (1991) remains the only agreed basis for the resolution of the problem. It is our hope that the obstacles with regard to the criteria of eligibility to vote will soon be resolved so that the way can be paved for holding the referendum as envisaged in the settlement plan.

The Middle East crisis, at the core of which is the question of Palestine, has been one of the most intractable problems on the agenda of the United Nations. Peace in the region will continue to be elusive if a solution is not found to that question. Uganda thus welcomed the United States initiative in launching negotiations between all the parties concerned, beginning with the Madrid conference last year. While we regret that no breakthrough has yet been made, we are encouraged that the dialogue is still continuing. We call on the parties to persist in their negotiations, remove mutual suspicion, engender confidence, and grapple with the real issues that will bring forward a comprehensive, just and durable solution.

Uganda welcomed the restoration of Kuwait's independence, in which the United Nations played a key role. It is our hope that with the Gulf War behind us, it will be possible to restore prosperity and to refocus the energies of the countries in the region on economic and social development.

As regards Cyprus, we support the Secretary-General's efforts to reach an agreement on fundamental principles for an overall settlement. We maintain

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our position that the settlement should safeguard the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

In the Korean peninsula, Uganda continues to be supportive of the aspirations of the Korean people for peaceful reunification. We wish to encourage them in their dialogue for this purpose.*

In Cambodia, we note the progress made by the United Nations Transitional Authority in implementing the agreements for a comprehensive political settlement. It is for us a matter of regret that there are problems with regard to the second phase of the cease-fire regarding the regrouping, cantoning and disarming of the various armed forces. We call on all parties to the agreements to live up to their undertakings so that peace and stability can return to that country.

Uganda has been deeply concerned at the continuing conflict in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia was a pillar of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. It contributed a lot to the Movement and to the struggle for the independence of our States when the cold war was at its height. It is, therefore, a source of great anguish to see that in its breakup, Yugoslavia has become a region of instability, strife and war based on ethnic and religious differences. We reject the notion of "ethnic cleansing" as being repugnant to accepted norms.

The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has been functioning under very dangerous and trying circumstances. It deserves our maximum support as it endeavours to restore peace in the area. We call on the parties to embrace the path of peace and reconciliation.

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* The President returned to the Chair.

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In the field of disarmament, Uganda welcomes the successful conclusion of the negotiations regarding the Convention on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction, which is due to be submitted to the Assembly at this session for adoption. As a party to the non-proliferation Treaty, Uganda also looks forward to actively participating in the preparation for the 1995 Review Conference, which will decide on the extension of the Treaty. It is our hope that the review will strengthen the Treaty by removing the present imbalances, and result in increased assistance to developing countries in the peaceful application of nuclear energy.

Uganda is happy to see that the question of human rights has a place of pride on the international agenda. In both our domestic and our foreign policies, we give high priority to this issue. As part of its commitment to this end, a preoccupation of my Government has been to strengthen the rule of law and our capacity to enforce those rights. We regard the proper training of law enforcement officials as crucial. Therefore, this has been given due priority in our programmes. Currently, Uganda has embarked on a process for the enactment of a new constitution that should have built-in safeguards for fundamental human rights and political freedoms. I wish to place on record our appreciation to those countries that are rendering assistance to Uganda in this regard.

Uganda looks forward to the third World Conference on Human Rights scheduled to take place in Vienna next year. That Conference should provide us with an opportunity to enhance the implementation of existing human rights instruments, to develop new norms where necessary, and to examine fully the intrinsic relationship between human rights and development.

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It has been emphasized that people must be at the centre of development. We agree. This requires us to strive for the attainment of social justice and equality for all peoples. Our avowed commitment for human rights and democracy cannot be taken seriously if it is not equally matched with a commitment to address the problems of underdevelopment, mass poverty and the social misery in which the overwhelming majority of the world population is trapped. Durable peace can only be anchored in the bedrock of economic progress among and within nations.

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Regrettably, as we approach the next millennium, the economic and social problems of the developing countries continue to worsen. The overall external environment remains unfavourable, with most of our countries confronted with worsening terms of trade, a crippling debt burden and a reduction in the flow of resources earmarked for development. While there is increasing integration in the process of production and the globalization of world trade, the trend of marginalization of the least developed countries continues.

Of grave concern is the critical economic situation in Africa. The Secretary-General in his annual report aptly describes the plight of Africa as follows:

> "Most Africans are poorer today than they were when their countries achieved independence in the late 1950s and 1960s. The continent as a whole accounts for 32 out of the world's 47 least developed countries. Africa is the only low-income region in the world where the number of people living in poverty is, if the current trends continue, likely to increase by the year 2000. It is also the only region of the world whose total debt equals or exceeds its economic output. The freshly-witnessed momentum for political pluralism in Africa can hardly withstand a continuing assault by desertification, famine and deprivation. Poverty is infertile soil for democracy. It breeds a search for survival that cannot be held back by national frontiers. The African countries need to become masters of their economic destiny in a more supportive global framework." (A/47/1, para. 62)

In response to this plight, the General Assembly adopted at its forty-sixth session, in resolution 46/151, the New Agenda for the

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Development of Africa in the 1990s, whose objective is to accelerate the transformation, integration and diversification of African economies. The New Agenda aims at achieving an average real growth rate in gross national product of about 6 per cent a year through the decade, paying special attention to such goals as increased life expectancy, lower rates of child and maternal mortality, and improved health, water, sanitation, basic education and shelter.

Most African countries have undertaken major reforms of their internal economic policies and mechanisms. In Uganda, for example, we are committed to the liberalization of the economy and have enacted an attractive foreign investment code. These reforms can be meaningful only if the external economic environment is supportive and there is a positive response in the form of increased investment and trade. It will be recalled that the United Nations Programme of Action for African Recovery and Development 1986-1990 did not achieve its objectives because of the failure of the international community to provide the requisite resources. For the New Agenda to succeed, therefore, our partners must have the political will to live up to their commitments.

The System-Wide Plan of Action which is before the General Assembly provides a framework for the United Nations system to give more focussed attention to Africa. In this regard, Uganda strongly welcomes the International Conference for Assistance to African Children, scheduled to take place in Dakar in November, and we commend the United Nations Children's Fund for the preparatory work already undertaken.

We appeal to the international agencies to earmark resources for the implementation of the New Agenda. In this connection, we commend the

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International Fund for Agricultural Development's Special Programme for Sub-Saharan Africa. I also wish to register my appreciation to the Government of Japan for initiating and arranging to host, in 1993, an African development conference that will bring together African countries, major aid donors and international agencies to discuss ways and means of accelerating African economic development.

Two major conferences were held last year: the Eighth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD VIII) and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, which culminated in Agenda 21. It is necessary to maintain the momentum achieved at Rio and at UNCTAD VIII by putting in place measures to implement those decisions. The Rio Summit established a clear link between environment, growth and development. The need to help developing countries achieve sustainable development was underscored. It is our hope that the Uruguay Round will soon be successfully completed and that it will remove the impediments to our products reaching the markets of the industrialized countries.

In the report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), issued as a follow-up to the statement adopted at the conclusion of the Security Council's historic Summit meeting of 31 January 1992, the Secretary-General outlines his proposals on how the United Nations role in the maintenance of international peace and security can be strengthened. The report contains a number of useful proposals on preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-building and the role of regional groupings which, if adopted, will enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations. We agree that regional arrangements in many cases possess a potential for early warning of,

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monitoring and defusing conflict situations, a potential that should be realized. The United Nations and the international community should help them to improve that capability.

The Organization of African Unity, for example, is in the process of trying to establish a mechanism for conflict-prevention, conflict management and conflict-resolution. Such a mechanism would strengthen the OAU's peace-keeping capabilities. Any assistance given in this regard will be an important and useful investment for peace and development in Africa.

I wish to emphasize that, as indicated in the Secretary-General's annual report, underdevelopment and poverty are prime sources of conflict. The United Nations, through its macroeconomic policy formulation and implementation, has played a central role in forging global consensus on development issues. As envisaged by the United Nations Charter, the Organization must continue fulfilling this function, especially now, when many developing countries are restructuring with a view to integrating their nations into the global economy. We should therefore endeavour to integrate our agenda for peace with our agenda for development. By strengthening the Organization's peacemaking and peace-keeping capabilities, we should not, by default or neglect, reduce the United Nations focus on economic and social issues. Clearly, development and peace are so intimately related that they must be tackled under a common agenda.

We stand at a historic watershed, especially given the fact that the global transition period we are entering is marked by contradictory trends. At this crossroads, however, a unique opportunity exists for the United Nations to achieve the objectives envisaged in the Charter. Whether or not

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the United Nations can help create a better world for the twenty-first century, in which the interests of us all are adequately catered for, depends on the structures we create now. History will judge us harshly if we fail to construct a firm foundation for the edifice of the future. That is our challenge.

AGENDA ITEM 146

EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN: DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.2)

The PRESIDENT: In connection with this item, the General Assembly has before it a draft resolution issued as document A/47/L.2. I call on the representative of Turkey to introduce the draft resolution.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): Last month, a natural disaster of enormous proportions struck Pakistan. The torrential rainfall in the northern areas of Pakistan caused extensive flooding, leading to many deaths and much material damage. As a result of this catastrophe, more than 1,000 people lost their lives and tens of thousands of homes were destroyed. In addition to widespread damage to bridges, roads, railroads, and telecommunication lines, some six million people have been rendered homeless.

Although the Government of Pakistan has taken urgent measures to alleviate the suffering of the victims, it is clear that, given the magnitude of the calamity, national efforts will not suffice. There is a pressing need for international assistance by Governments and other organizations.

It is in response to this need that I have the honour to introduce, on behalf of the 63 sponsoring countries, the draft resolution entitled "Emergency assistance to Pakistan" contained in document A/47/L.2. The following countries have decided to join the sponsors listed in the document: the Bahamas, Bhutan, Brunei Darussalam, Cyprus, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Jordan, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mali, the Russian Federation, the Sudan, Uganda, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

The draft resolution is made up of four preambular and five operative paragraphs. It calls for the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

relevant organs and organizations of the United Nations system and in close collaboration with the Government authorities, to assist in the rehabilitation efforts of the Government of Pakistan. It also requests all States and international organizations and other intergovernmental agencies to extend emergency support to Pakistan to alleviate the economic and financial burden of the people of Pakistan.

The draft resolution expresses in a tangible way our deep sympathy for the victims in their hour of suffering. At the same time, it demonstrates our readiness to contribute morally and materially towards the rehabilitation of the millions whose lives have been so cruelly disrupted.

I am confident that, true to the principle of international solidarity with the victims of disasters, the General Assembly will rally to the assistance of the Government and the people of Pakistan and adopt the draft resolution by consensus.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/47/L.2.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt draft resolution A/47/L.2?

Draft resolution A/47/L.2 was adopted (resolution 47/2).

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their position on the resolution just adopted. I should like to remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. SRREENIVASAN (India): My delegation joined the consensus in support of draft resolution A/47/L.2, entitled "Emergency assistance to Pakistan".

India was deeply moved by the extensive damage and devastation caused in Pakistan by the unprecedented floods in that country. Certain parts of India were also severely affected by the rain and floods. India was one of the first countries to rush emergency assistance to Pakistan as soon as the extent of the damage came to be known.

Several other countries have also extended assistance, and it is only appropriate that the General Assembly should commend these efforts and request others to extend support to Pakistan to alleviate the suffering of the afflicted people.

My delegation is disappointed that Pakistan has chosen to make an unwarranted reference to the so-called Azad Jammu and Kashmir in its explanatory memorandum contained in the annex to document A/47/244. India's position on this matter is well known and requires no reiteration. I should only like to state that our support of the resolution on emergency assistance to Pakistan is without prejudice to our position on Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to take this opportunity to express to you, Mr. President, and to the Assembly our profound thanks for the consideration and adoption by consensus of the draft resolution on emergency assistance to Pakistan. I should further like to convey my delegation's deep appreciation to the members of the General Committee for their valuable support and understanding shown in recommending the inscription of a new agenda item as well as its consideration directly in the plenary Assembly.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

I wish to convey my delegation's special thanks to my friend, brother and colleague, Ambassador Mustafa Aksin, Permanent Representative of Turkey, for introducing the draft resolution, and also to all the delegations which sponsored it and those delegations which supported it.

I especially wish to convey my delegation's deep appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs for the measures they have already taken for coordinating relief measures as appropriate with the authorities in Pakistan.

With reference to the observations made by the representative of India, I would reiterate Pakistan's well-known position that the issue of Jammu and Kashmir remains on the agenda of the Security Council awaiting a peaceful solution.

The adoption of draft resolution A/47/L.2 is a clear manifestation of the international community's support for the people and the Government of Pakistan. It is also a substantive demonstration of the spirit of solidarity and cooperation which permeates the membership of the United Nations whenever and wherever there are natural disasters of great magnitude. We value this timely support and are convinced that it will contribute materially towards mitigating the devastating consequences of the unprecedented floods which have caused so much havoc in my country.

The PRESIDENT: May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 146?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.